

FROM THE DESK OF

Frank R. Barnett

61-5648

10 July 1961

Hon. Allen Dulles

Dear Mr. Dulles:

Congratulations on your fine presentation this morning to the Third Annual Strategy Seminar for Reserve Officers.

The spontaneous applause which greeted many of your responses in the Question period speaks for itself.

In these trying days--when CIA has been enduring too many unmerited slings and arrows of uninformed opinion--I think you might be gratified to know that many civic leaders and educators who have attended recent "grass roots" Strategy Seminars (in Atlanta, Chicago, Chattanooga and Colorado Springs) are deeply appreciative of the difficult and dangerous work so ably performed by you and your associates.

In answer to your request to me this morning, I enclose a copy of the Bibliography we are sending out to schools and civic groups. Your celebrated speech to the VFW last year has generated a continuous cycle of "consumer demand" from educators.

With every good wish, I am

DOCUMENT NO. 2
NO CHANGE IN BLANKS
 DECLASSIFIED
CLASSIFIED BY FRANK R. BARNETT
DATE 19 MARCH 1961 REVIEW 3

Faithfully,

Frank Barnett

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SHORT ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF READINGS IN
THE PROTRACTED CONFLICT

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The opinions expressed in the books and pamphlets listed in this bibliography are those of their authors and do not necessarily reflect those of this Institute.

May 16, 1961

A SHORT ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF READINGS IN THE PROTRACTED CONFLICT

PART IREADINGS FOR BEGINNERSA. Books:

1. Democracy versus Communism, by Kenneth Colegrove, edited by Hall Bartlett. Published and distributed for The Institute of Fiscal and Political Education by D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., Princeton, N. J., 1957, 424 pp, \$4.95.

A lucid and detailed textbook on Communism for high school use. The author compares the democratic and communist systems as they have evolved, respectively, in the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Well illustrated with maps, charts, diagrams and photographs. Chapter headings include these titles: What is Democracy? What is Communism? What Liberty Means to People Who Govern Themselves. What Communists Do to Liberty. Written Law: the Foundation of Liberty and Justice. How Communists Gain and Keep Power. Communist Conquest and Colonization. Paths to Peace and Prosperity. A key sentence in this volume: "The study of Soviet realities, far from converting Americans to Communism, should strengthen and mature loyalty to democratic traditions and achievements." Used in pamphlet form by the Armed Forces for troop education.

2. Masters of Deceit, by J. Edgar Hoover, subtitled The Story of Communism in America and How to Fight It., Henry Holt & Co., New York, N. Y., 1959, 347 pp, \$5.00 (paperback edition, Pocket Books, Inc., New York, N. Y., 340 pp, 50¢).

A professional writes a layman's guide to the growth and "unbelievable" activities of the Communist Party in the U.S.A. A significant implication is that the communist threat cannot be measured in numbers alone and that, therefore, the threat of the Party within the U.S.A. has not lessened simply because Party membership has declined.

This important book contains a glossary of terms frequently used by Communists, an annotated bibliography of major communist "classics," and a chronology. It is divided into seven parts: Who Is Your Enemy? How Communism Began, The Communist Appeal in the U.S., Life in the Party, The Communist Trojan Horse in Action, The Communist Underground. In the final part - Conclusion - Mr. Hoover says that "we cannot afford the luxury of waiting for communism to run its course like other oppressive dictatorships."

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The weapons of communism are still formidable. They become even more effective when we lower our guard and when we become lax in strengthening our democratic institutions in perfecting the American dream. The call to the future must be a rekindled American faith, based on our priceless heritage of freedom, justice, and the religious spirit."

3. What We Must Know About Communism, by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, W. W. Norton & Co., New York, N. Y., 1958, 348 pp, \$4.50.

This is the book that former President Eisenhower said was must reading. A well organized treatment of ideological and political issues posed by the continuing spread of Communism. Divided into three parts: I - Beginnings and Developments; II - The Party in our Midst; and, III - What Are the Stakes?

Traces the development and rise of Communism from Marx to "Bloody Sunday" in St. Petersburg (Jan. 22, 1905) to the collapse of the Budapest uprising in November, 1956 and the consolidation of power by Khrushchev thereafter. Chapter headings include: The Roots of Conspiracy. Lenin's Party, Khrushchev's Party. Tactics and Stratagems: The United Front. The American People as a Target.

In the conclusion of the chapter on Khrushchev's Party, the authors state, "Khrushchev's Party is the most potent instrument of internal dictatorship and world conquest yet to be forged in the Soviet Union."

4. The War Called Peace, by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, W. W. Norton & Co., New York, N. Y., 1961, 368 pp, \$4.50.

An up-to-date treatment of the Khrushchev period and the challenge that the Khrushchev policy and the "new Soviet man" present to the U.S.A. Documented with recent Khrushchev speeches and quotations from the new Party History (1959).

After covering such topics as Peaceful Co-existence, Berlin: A Case Study, Colonialism: Soviet Style, and The United Nations as a Target, the authors conclude that "Khrushchev has one fear that outranks all others: the fear that the free nations will unite - in policy and determination - and stay united," and that, therefore, "It is simply too late for the free world to go on indulging in the naivete of separateness."

In the Foreword, the Authors state that what "Stalin concealed behind a cryptic smile" and Lenin spelled out for Communist consumption, "Khrushchev has broadcast to the world." As a result, "The conviction grows among us that the free world today faces an issue of moral and spiritual survival it has never faced before. Communist man confronts the free man."

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5. The Profile of Communism. Freedom Books. Published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y., 1961 Edition, 117 pp, 95¢.

A comprehensive treatment of the strategy and tactics of world communism and the totalitarian nature of the communist rule in the U.S.S.R. Presented in question and answer form, it deals with the Communist Program and Movement, communist tactics and techniques, the Soviet Empire and the totalitarian nature of the Soviet world, and Communist China.

Of special interest is the discussion of religion under Communism, which reveals that while "the Roman Catholic Church in the satellite countries remains a center of resistance to communist power," the Jewish peoples in the U.S.S.R. and satellite countries continue to be persecuted. The "Jewish religion is denigrated and vilified" and all Jews, being "anti-social types," are "virtually disloyal and potentially treasonous to the Soviet State."

6. Questions and Answers on Communism, by Richard Cardinal Cushing. Published by the Daughters of St. Paul, 50 St. Paul's Ave., Jamaica Plain, Boston, Mass., 1960, 155 pp, \$1.00 (50 or more copies, 50¢ each).

An outline of the nature of Communism and why the Communists are determined to conquer the world. Chapter headings include: Communism, Marxism, Socialism, Class Wars and the Communist Line, The Communist Attitude Toward Reforms, Communism and Religion, Morality, the State, the Workers, the United States, China, the Defeat of Communism.

In answering the question - "From the study of Communist documents, what do we learn about the pitfalls we should avoid because the Communists want us to fall into them?", the author states, "It is clear that nothing could be more fatal to the battle against Communism than in confusing anti-Semitism, anti-Negroism, anti-Unionism with anti-Communism....Probably the greatest pitfall is ignorance of the nature, goals and methods of Communism. We should also add prejudice, bigotry and ignorance of America and her history."

7. The Big Red School House, by Fred M. Hechinger. Doubleday & Co., Garden City, N. Y., 1959, 240 pp, \$3.95.

The Education Editor of the New York Times presents a comprehensive description of Soviet schools, an analysis

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of our own educational system, and an interpretation of similarities and differences. Each system is interpreted in terms of underlying cultures. "While there is absolutely no difference between successful totalitarian and successful democratic weapons," says the author, "there is a world of difference between an educated man in a free society and an educated man in a slave society."

Elsewhere the author states that, in the U.S.S.R. "there is no leeway for teachers, or even principals, to select one textbook in preference over another. Curriculum changes are introduced without any choice or alternative." In contrast, "the American schools are in the hands of some 50,000 local school boards" which may or may not interfere with the day-to-day operation of the schools.

8. A Primer on Communism: 200 Questions and Answers, by George W. Croney, edited by Howard Oiseth. E. P. Dutton & Co. (Paperback Series), New York, N. Y., Revised Edition, 1960, 192 pp, \$1.25.

A series of basic questions and answers that cover the following: the Nature of Communism; the Communist System of Government; Communism and Labor; Ownership of Land and Property under Communism; Equality under Communism; Courts and Justice under Communism; Communism's "Iron Curtain"; Communism and Religion; Education under Communism; Production of Food and Goods under Communism; Peaceful Co-existence and Militarism; Communism and the Free World; How to Combat Communism.

In answer to the question, "Can an anti-Communist coalition be effective?" the author refers to the Indian state of Kerala, saying that "The 1957 elections in Kerala had given the Communists 60 of the 126 seats in the legislature." In the February, 1960, election, the three principal anti-Communist parties set up a United Democratic Front and won 89 of the 126 seats in the Kerala House. "Indian newspaper comment stressed that the Communists were defeated by the unity and determination of the anti-Communist coalition."

B. Pamphlets:

1. Communist Target - Youth, by J. Edgar Hoover. Prepared for the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1960, 18 pp, 15¢.

An account of communist infiltration and agitation tactics during the student riots in San Francisco, California, at

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the hearings conducted by the House Committee on May 12-14, 1960. In his introductory remarks, Mr. Hoover states that "It has long been a basic tenet of Communist strategy to control for its own evil purposes the explosive force which youth represents." He goes on to say that "In the relentless struggle for world domination being waged by them, Communists are dedicated to the Leninist principle that 'youth will decide the issue of the entire struggle - both student youth and, still more, the working-class youth!'"

The Director of the FBI presents an account of activities leading up to the San Francisco riots, summarizes the Communist plan of attack, and its organization for action. He then gives a detailed account of the riots. In his concluding statement, Mr. Hoover reminds the reader that the "Communists demonstrated in San Francisco just how powerful a weapon Communist infiltration is. They revealed how it is possible for only a few Communist agitators, using mob psychology, to turn peaceful demonstrations into riots." To those of us who say that because of the strength of our nation the riots and chaos Communists have created in other countries "can't happen here," Mr. Hoover says, "The Communist success in San Francisco in May 1960 proves that it can happen here."

2. Expose of Soviet Espionage, May 1960. Prepared by the FBI for the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate. Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1960, 41 pp, 15¢.

The introductory section of this pamphlet states, "Recent Soviet propaganda has denounced the United States for aerial reconnaissance of the Soviet Union in terms designed to convince the world that the U.S.S.R. would not stoop to espionage." It goes on to state that "Soviet agents for three decades have engaged in extensive espionage against this country, and through the years have procured a volume of information which would stagger the imagination. This information includes literally dozens of aerial photographs of major U.S. cities and vital areas which have given the Russians the product of aerial reconnaissance just as surely as if Soviet planes had been sent over this country."

The subheadings include: Acquisition of Aerial Photographs, Recruitment of Americans, The Intelligence Role of the Soviet-Bloc Officials, Industrial Spying and Circumvention of Regulations, Exploitation of Public Information, Propaganda and Personal Appearances, Use of the United Nations, Illegal Operations, International Aspects of Soviet Espionage, and Aims of International Communism. The appendices contain accounts of 31 espionage cases involving court actions during the past decade and of 19 Soviet nationals declared ~~non grata~~ during the same period.

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3. The Communist Revolution: An Outline of Strategy and Tactics, by Harold H. Fisher. Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif., 1955, 89 pp, \$1.00 (Hoover Institute Studies, Series A: General Studies, No. 2).

A brief historical outline of the communist movement. The final chapter, entitled "Questions and Speculations," examines the following questions: How to tell a Communist from a non-Communist. What successes have the Communists had? What causes the Communists to threaten the peace of the world? Is war with the Communists inevitable? What is to be done? Also included are a chronology and a bibliography relating to the communist movement.

4. The Red Iceberg, Impact Publications, 260 Summit Ave., St. Paul, Minn., 1960, 16 pp, 10¢.

Presented in comic book form, this is a dramatic account of how the Communists are conducting their multi-pronged campaign against the Free World. Suitable not only for school children but also for adult "beginners."

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PART II

ADVANCED READINGS

A. Books:

1. Soviet Total War, subtitled Historic Mission of Violence and Deceit. (2 vols.) Prepared for the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1956, Vol. I, 421 pp, \$1.25; Vol. II, 898 pp, \$1.50.

A collection of articles, excerpts from books and monographs, and speeches from more than 120 contributors who address themselves to problems posed by the communist threat. Contributors include Allen W. Dulles, Robert Strausz-Hupe, Richard L. Walker, Frank R. Barnett, J. Edgar Hoover, David Sarnoff, George Meany, Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, Henry A. Kissinger and General Maxwell D. Taylor.

These two volumes unmask communist deceits and subterfuges, and describe Communism's relentless psychological, political, economic, sociological and military strategies. The Foreword states that, "Like all reasonable people, these contributors do not desire war, but only a lasting peace. On the other hand, they are fully aware that, in hoping for peace, we cannot permit ourselves to be frozen into extinction as free men. Unless we meet the total challenge of Communist unconventional war, we shall assuredly condemn ourselves to the Arctic hell of Siberian slave labor camps. There is no third way: either we prevent the achievement of Communism's 'historic mission' - or we perish."

2. The Question of National Defense, by Oskar Morgenstern. Random House, New York, N. Y., 1959, 306 pp, \$3.95.

A "hard-boiled" analysis of science, technology and military power as essential factors in the struggle between America and Russia. Recommended reading for those who think Communism is simply an idea that can be contained by teaching better economics in the schools. Morgenstern might be paraphrased as saying: "Stop waving flags and build fallout shelters, missiles and anti-missile missiles if you want to survive."

Sharply opposed to the doctrine of massive retaliation as a "cure-all", the author urges radical expansion of the Polaris submarine program as the mobile, invisible deterrent, and believes that the possibility of war will cease only when there is an absolute technical certainty of self-destruction for the aggressor. At present, the Soviets may feel they can strike first and succeed.

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3. On Thermonuclear War, by Herman Kahn. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1960, 651 pp, \$10.00.

An extended, informed, perceptive and brilliant exploration of the problems of war, deterrence, national strategies and objectives. "It is difficult," says Kahn, "and even impossible for most Americans to believe that they have an enemy." For those who believe we do not, this book is essential reading.

The author refuses to look upon a thermonuclear war as the end of all existence. He asserts that an effective, nation-wide civil defense program (at an estimated cost of 200 billion dollars) could greatly reduce the number of casualties and that the national economy possesses great recuperative powers "even if every urban center were to be wiped out." He believes that thermonuclear war is possible, and cites the possibility of accidental triggering of the alert force, miscalculations, irrational actions or cold-blooded moves by the communist leaders.

Admitting that we face many immense problems, Kahn insists that the most serious of all is the "problem of sheer survival." He goes on to say, "not only that we will be nibbled to death or subverted into ineffectuality, but that we will be annihilated in a blow or two, or blackmailed into accepting a series of Munichs because too many now consider the thought of going to war to defend justice, obligations, rights, or positions bizarre or fanciful. Unless current attitudes and programs are changed, it is going to take more money, thought, and luck to meet these military problems than are likely to be available."

4. The Moulding of Communists, by Frank S. Meyer. Harcourt Brace, New York, N. Y., 1961, 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp, \$5.00.

Based upon personal experience, this is a search into what goes on in the minds of people who, like the author, spent their formative years under Communist Party discipline. Communists, says the author, are moulded not so much by acceptance of beliefs as by incessant training -- that is, unending discussions, criticisms, correction, and "clarification" of Party actions and every aspect of a Party member's life. The author systematically spells out the process of reversion from a human person to a Communist.

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5. Facts on Communism (2 vols.) Vol. I, The Communist Ideology, by Gerhart Niemeyer; Vol II, The Soviet Union From Lenin to Khrushchev, by David Dallin. Prepared for the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1960. Vol. I, 135 pp, 45¢; Vol. II, 367 pp, \$1.25.

Each of these volumes is well documented and concisely written. The first is an analysis of communist attitudes toward history, our own society, and revolution; and a discussion of communist organization and strategy for carrying out their ideological goals. The author's conclusion: "The struggle of the proletariat - that is nothing but the ceaseless pursuit of power by the Communist Party....The 'future', according to Communists, is inevitably Communist. Hence the struggle for Communist victory is for them, as one of them puts it, 'the law of laws!'".

The second volume is a comprehensive history of the Soviet Union from its inception to the present day. The author's concluding paragraph deserves special attention. "More than four decades have passed since the seizure of power in Russia by the Bolshevik, the eventual Communist Party. In this space of time Russia has undergone a multitude of changes, lived through severely repressive eras as well as through periods of some relaxation, has seen a succession of leaders, awful wars as well as some progress. However, the basic elements of Leninism have been maintained to this day - a stern one-party rule, negation, antagonism to democracy as a system and to the democracies as nations, and consequently - a permanent threat of a terrible conflict in the world. Soviet 'Communism' has remained the greatest danger of our days."

6. American Strategy For The Nuclear Age, edited by Walter F. Hahn and John C. Neff. Doubleday & Co., Anchor Books, Garden City, New York, 1960, 455 pp, \$1.45. Prepared for the Institute for American Strategy by the Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania.

Contains thirty-three essays written by American statesmen, scholars, military experts, scientists and businessmen. Contributors include John von Neumann, J. Edgar Hoover, William R. Kintner, Stefan T. Possony, Hanson Baldwin, Howard C. Petersen, Robert L. Garner and Dean Acheson. The six major sections of the book are: The Mid-Century Stage; Communism: Its Nature, Strengths and Weaknesses; Communist Strategy and Tactics; Problems of Military Strategy; Problems of Economic Strategy; and Responses to the Challenge. Among the topics discussed in detail are the dilemma of our present defense programs, disarmament negotiations, Free World alliances, conventional and unconventional warfare and various policies of nuclear deterrence.

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In galley-proof form, this book was the official "Bible" of all student officers who attended the Defense Strategy Seminar in 1960 at the National War College. It is included in the reading-kits to be distributed to student officers attending the Defense Strategy Seminar in 1961.

7. A Forward Strategy for America, by Robert Strausz-Hupe, William R. Kintner and Stefan T. Possony. Harper & Bros., New York, N. Y., 1961, 451 pp, \$5.95.

Having described Soviet plans and strategies for world domination in Protracted Conflict (Harper & Bros., 1959, 203 pp, \$3.95), the authors survey the counterstrategy required of the U.S.A. They assess nearly every aspect of strategy: the role of the Chief Executive, the need to increase production of capital goods, the degree in which our industry and economy can meet the challenge, our relationships with our Allies and the uncommitted nations and weaknesses of communism we can exploit.

They repeatedly stress the opinions that (1) the West can turn back the communist tide only through a greatly strengthened NATO, and (2) the Free World must take advantage of the Soviet bloc's Achilles Heel - satellite Eastern Europe.

B. Pamphlets:

1. Khrushchev's Strategy and Its Meaning for America. Prepared for the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee On The Judiciary, U. S. Senate, by the Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania. Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1960, 40 pp, 20¢.

This study reveals the goals of the world communist conspiracy. By exposing the twists and turns of Soviet propaganda, it shows Khrushchev's aims and strategies for what they are. The treatment covers the following: Khrushchev as a dictator, strategist and theoretician, the development of his strategy, the meaning of peaceful co-existence and disarmament, and Khrushchev's visit to the U.S.A. in September 1959.

A quantitative analysis of Khrushchev's speeches in America reveals that in the 21 speeches he made during his 12 day visit, he concentrated on five major subjects: Soviet-American relations (mentioned 28 times), Communist system versus capitalist system (26 times), Peaceful co-existence and relaxation of international tension (26 times), Disarmament (13 times) and Arms race (7 times). The authors state that

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"It is now clear that one of the basic aims of Khrushchev's American trip was to establish an atmosphere which would narrow the range of political choice open to the West and force it further in the direction of seeking an accommodation with the Soviet Union."

2. Language as a Communist Weapon. House Committee on Un-American Activities consultation with Stefan T. Possony. Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1959, 51 pp, 20¢.

A revealing statement of how the Communists manipulate language as a potent weapon in their drive for world domination. This well documented pamphlet demonstrates how the Communists strive to conceal their real intentions by dressing up words and phrases to be more palatable to non-communist ears. Thus "slave labor" becomes "corrective labor," "revolution" becomes "liberation," "preparation for war" becomes "Peace," "dictatorship" becomes "democracy," and any local nationalist movement aimed at undercutting Western interests becomes a "liberation movement."

3. Statement of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties Meeting in Moscow, USSR, 1960. Published by New Century Publishers, 832 Broadway, New York, N. Y., 1961, 31 pp, 25¢.

The publisher's "Note to the Readers" -- which appears on the inside front cover -- is quoted in full: "This pamphlet contains the complete and authorized text of the Statement of eighty-one Communists and Workers' Parties which met in Moscow, USSR, in November, 1960. The Statement which was issued on December 5, created a world stir and was widely discussed in the press and radio. In the U.S.A., however, only the New York Times printed the statement in full, although in a crude and unauthorized translation, containing many errors. The present text is reprinted from the January, 1961 issue of the Marxist Monthly, Political Affairs, and is published in pamphlet form as a public service because of the wide and intense interest in its analysis of the present world situation and the perspectives for the future."

This new "Communist Manifesto" is essential reading and has been repeatedly referred to as such by President Kennedy and Secretary of State Rusk. A blueprint for Communism in the 1960's, this most important document dispels whatever illusions the Free World may have had that the communist attitude showed signs of softening. Rather, it is a clear call for intensification of the Cold War on every front and

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specifies how communist aims may be achieved through nationalist revolutions in new countries, through subversion and infiltration of weak countries, and through local limited wars elsewhere. While recognizing the calamitous effect a thermonuclear war would have, it asserts that a communist victory can be achieved without resorting to such a war.

4. For New Victories For the World Communist Movement, by N. S. Khrushchev.

Though not readily available, this document is included here because of its singular importance. Subtitled On Results of the Conference of Representatives of Communists and Workers' Parties, it is a transcript of the speech Khrushchev delivered on January 6, 1961, at a joint meeting of the Party organizations of the Higher Party School, the Academy of Social Science, and the Party Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism. The full text - some 22,000 words - was published in Kommunist and Pravda in January. The February 15 issue of The Current Digest of the Soviet Press published its own translation of the introductory paragraphs and the first two sections of the speech. These sections are entitled, "Our Epoch is the Epoch of Triumph of Marxism-Leninism" and "Full Scale Building of Communism in the USSR and Prospect of Development of the World Socialist System."

The January 1961 issue of World Marxist Review - Vol. 4, No. 1, published by Progress Books, 42-28 Stafford Street, Toronto 3, Ontario, Canada, 35¢ - also contains the text. In addition to the two subheadings noted above, this English translation contains the following subheadings: "Prevention of War Is the Question of Questions," "Abolition of Colonialism and Perspectives of the Further Development of the Newly-Independent Countries," "Some Ideological Questions of the Communist Movement," and "For the Further Consolidation of the Communist Movement on the Principles of Marxism-Leninism." Soviet experts have described this speech as the most important statement to come out of Moscow since the end of World War II. Like the "Manifesto" which it elaborates upon, it is a communist blueprint for the 1960's.